Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

# Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ANKARA 00886 031324Z

44
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
---------- 026467
P R 031152Z FEB 76
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2279
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
USMISSION USUN
USMISSION NATO
USNMR SHAPE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 0886

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MARR PFOR TU GR CY US
SUBJ: THE FUTURE COURSE OF U.S. TURKISH RELATIONS

1. THE RECENT ACTION OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE IN PROPOSING CONTINUING PUNITIVE RESTRICTIONS ON TURKEY HAS HAD A PROFOUNDLY ADVERSE EFFECT HERE. TOGETHER WITH MY LAST FRIDAY'S CONVERSATION WITH ELEKDAG (ANKARA 0815) AND THE EARLIER SISCO-ESENBEL CONVERSATION (STATE 022277, WHICH BECAUSE OF DELAYED SERVICING HAS ONLY JUST REACHED ME), THE SENATE'S ACTION SERVES AS AN UNWELCOME, BUT REALISTIC, REMINDER THAT TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES CONTINUE TO MARCH TO THE MEASURED BEAT OF VERY DIFFERENT DRUMMERS.

2. THE GOT AND THE USG ARE AGREED ON THE DESIRABILITY OF SETTLING THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AND REBUILDING THE SMASHED U.S.-TURKISH ALLIANCE. BOTH WOULD LIKE TO SEE BOTH DONE. BUT FOR LEADERS OF THE INCREASINGLY BELEAGURED PRO-WESTERN FACTION IN TURKEY, THE FOCUS IS ON THE LATTER. THEY WANT TO REGARD EARLIER CONGRESSIONAL ACIONS AS AN ABERRATION. THEY, ALONG WITH VIRTUALLY ALL TURKS OF WHATEVER POLITICAL ORIETATION, CONSIDER THAT THEY HAVE BEEN THE SINNED-AGAINST
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ANKARA 00886 031324Z

PARTY ENTIRELY IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION. THEY FAIL TO CONCEDE,

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

OR EVEN PRIVATELY TO RECOGNIZE, ANY CONTRIBUTORY NEGLIGENCE
ON THEIR PART. THEY HAVE BEEN RECENTLY OPERATING ON THE
ASSUMPTION THAT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT -- AND WHEN THEY SAY
"GOVERNMENT" IN THIS CONTEXT THEY MEAN THE CONGRESS -- HAS
GRADUALLY COME TO LEARN THE COMPLEXITY AND INTRACTABILITY
OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. THEY HAVE HOPED, TOO, THAT THE USG
HAS BEEN GRADUALLY GAINING AN INCREASED UNDERSTANDING OF
THE "JUSTICE" OF THE TURKISH SIDE. IF NOT, THEY HAVE AT LEAST
HOPED, AND ASSUMED, THAT AN INCREASED KNOWLEDGE OF THE
PROBLEM WOULD PRECLUDE THE CONTINUATION OF A U.S. POLICY WHICH
SINGLES OUT AND PENALIZES ONLY TURKEY AS THE CULPRIT. FINALLY,
IT HAD BEEN HOPED THAT THE U.S. HAD AT LAST LEARNED THAT
PUBLICLY BULLYING AN ALLY LIKE TURKEY IS NOT THE WAY TO GET
TURKEY TO DO WHAT WE WISH; AND THAT TO TEAR UP THE
U.S.-TURKISH ALLIANCE IS A SELF-INFLICTED WOUND.

3. OPERATING ON THESE ASSUMPTIONS, A PRIDEFUL GOT, STILL
FEELING VERY MUCH THE AGGRIEVED PARTY, AND IN THE FACE OF
VOCAL AND POTENTIALLY VERY STRONG DOMESTIC OPPOSITION, HAS BEEN
NEGOTIATING TO REBUILD OUR RELATIONSHIP. IN DOING SO, THE
TURKS ASSUMED THAT THE MAINTAINING OF A STABLEQ CREDIBLE AND
FORMIDABLE DETERRENT ON THIS END OF THE NATO DEFENSE ONCE
AGAIN HAS TAKEN A PRIORITY PLACE IN OUR JOINT OBJECTIVES.

4. THEY ARE NOT UNMINDFUL OF THE NEED ALSO TO MAKE PROGRESS ON
THE CYPRUS SITUATION, BUT AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE THEY WILL
NOT REPEAT NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE FORMER IS TO DEPEND ON THE
LATTER. MOREOVER, THEY ARE PERSUADED THAT BOTH THEIR INTIMACY
WITH THIS PROBLEM AND THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT IS REQUIRED
IN DEALING WITH GREEKS IN CYPRUS AND IN ATHENS HISTORICALLY
EXCEEDS OUR OWN BY A WIDE MARGIN. THEREFORE, WHAT SEEMS TO
US (AND WHAT IN FACT IS) A CONSTANT GOT TEMPRIZING AND
TRUCULENCE CONCERNING THE CYPRUS PROBLEM IS ONLY IN PARSA
REFLECTION OF THE DISTASTE (AND PERHAPS POLITICAL INABILITY)
OF THE NOT VERY COURAGEOUS PRESENT TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO FACE
UP TO DIFFICULT DECISIONS. AND IT IS ONLY IN PART A
REFLECTION OF THE SEEMINGLY PERPETUAL PREFERENCE OF BOTH
TURKS AND GREEKS ENDLESSLY TO EXPLAIN THE PERFIDIOUSNESS
OF THE OTHER, AND TO DO SO AS AN APPARENTLY WELCOME ALTERNATIVE
TO FOCUSING ON THE DIFFICULT BUSINESS OF ARRIVING AT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03  ANKARA 00886  031324Z

SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS TO COMMON PROBLEMS. IT IS ALSO,
VERY IMPORTANTLY, A REFLECTION OF THE TURKISH CONVICTION
THAT THEIR EXPERIENCE HAS TAUGHT THEM THAT IN DEALING
WITH THE GREEKS THEY MUST DEAL SLOWLY, FROM A POSITION OF
STRENGTH, AND WITH THE GREATEST OF SKEPTICISM AND CAUTION.

5. BUT THEY KEP POINT, WHICH I MUST CONSTANTLY EMPHASIZE,
IS THAT THE TURKS AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE WILL NOT REPEAT

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

NOT ALLOW OUR CURRENT NEGOTIATION FOR THE REBUILDING OF OUR
RELATIONSHIP TO BE TIED TO THE CYPRUS SITUATION. WE HAVE
MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS IN THESE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS,
EVEN THOUGH CONTINUING UNREALISTIC TURKISH MONEY DEMANDS
MAY STILL SINK THEM. BUT THE KIND OF MONEY PROBLMES WE
ARE FACING IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS AT THE MOMENT APPEAR IN
MOST NEGOTIATIONS OF THIS KIND, AND I HAVE NOT GIVEN UP HOPE
THAT THEY CAN BE SURMOUNTED. IT IS THE DRUM BEAT PROBLEM
WHICH SEEMS TO ME TO BE FAR MORE FUNDAMENTAL.

6. CONGRESS, TOO, WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE CYPRUS PROBLEM
RESOLVED AND U.S.-TURKISH SECURITY RELATIONSHIP RESTORED.
BUT AS BETWEEN THE TWO THE FORMER IS APPARENTLY THE FIRST
OBJECTIVE. THIS CONGRESSIONAL COURSE (AND SPECIFICALLY LAST
WEEK'S ACTION OF THE SENATE FRC) ALMOST SURELY IS A
HARBINGER OF FURTHER DISASTER IN OUR RELATIONSHIP HERE.
I SAY "ALMOST" SURLEY, BECAUSE I DO NOT RULE OUT ALL
TOGETHER THE MAKING OF SOME PROGRESS IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION.
WITH ALL IT S COMPLEXITIES, HATREDS AND
COUNTER-HATREDS, SUSPICIONS AND COUNTER-SUSPICIONS, THE CHANCES OF
SEEING SOME PROGRESS TOWARDS AN ENDURING AND MUTUALLY
QUASI-SATISFACTORY SOLUTION ARE GREATER AT THIS TIME THAN
THEY HAVE BEEN IN EARLIER ERAS OR MAY WELL BE IN THE FUTURE.
BUT THE ODDS AGAINST SUCH PROGRESS REMAIN LONG INDEED AND
IF IT COMES AT ALL, IT RUNS THE VERY GREAT RISK OF COMING
FAR TOO LATE TO HEAD OFF ANOTHER COLLISION -- AND THIS TIME
A MORE DAMAGING AND FAR MORE LAST COLLAPSE IN U.S.-
TURKISH RELATIONS.

7. FORTUNATELY, IT WILL NOT BE NECESSARY TO "SOLVE" THE
CYPRUS PROBLEM TO PERMIT A RESTORED U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP,
BUT IT IS NECESSARY THAT A PROCESS FOR RESOLVING THE PROBLEM
BE GENUINELY AND VISIBLY UNDER WAY. WHILE THIS IS STILL
CONFIDENTIAL



POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE, IF THE RESULTS OF OUR EFFORTS (AND THE
EFFORTS OF OTHERS) OVER THE PAST YEAR AND A HALF TELL US
ANYTHING, THEY TELL US WE CANNOT COUNT ON IT. STILL ANOTHER
UNPLEASANT REALITY WE MUST FACE IS THAT EVEN IF CONGRESS
REFRAINS FROM REIMPOSING THE EMBARGO, AND EVEN IN THE UNLIKELY
EVENT THAT IT SOMEHOW FINDS A WAY TO REMOVE ALL OF ITS
PRESENT RESTRICTIONS, ONE CANNOT HELP WONDER, GIVEN THIS
CONGRESS' RECORD TO DATE, JUST HOW GOOD THE PROSPECTS ARE
THAT WE CAN MOVE TO THE OPPOSIT SIDE OF THE COIN AND PRODUCE
A MULTI-YEAR CONGRESSIONAL ENDORSEMENT OF THE KIND OF NEW
AND VERY SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT WE ARE CURRENTLY NEGOTIATING.

8. WHAT ALL THIS MEANS IS THAT DESPITE MAJOR EFFORTS IN
WASHINGTON AND ANKARA TO THE CONTRARY, WE ARE ONCE AGAIN
SQUARELY ON A COLLISION COURSE WITH THE TURKS. LIKE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

OTHER ALLIES, THE TURKS CAN BE SELFISH, EGOCENTRIC AND
UNFEELING OF OUR PROBLEMS, AND THIS MESSAGE IS CERTAINLY
NOT DESIGNED AS AN APOLOGIA FOR SOME OF THE THINGS HE HAS
DONE IN SYPRUS OR FOR SOME OF HIS MORE SELFISH AND
UNREALISTIC OBJECTIVES IN THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS.
BUT WITH ALL HIS NOTABLE FAULTS (AND IN FACT BECAUSE OF
SOME OF THEM) HE IS A VALUABLE ALLY, IRREPLACEABLE AT
THIS END OF THE NATO DEFENSES, AND THE QUESTION NOW IS WHAT
CAN WE DO TO HEAD OFF THIS COLLISION?

9. THE ANSWERS ARE NEITHER NUMEROUS NOR EASY. OBVIOUSLY
WE MUST CONTINUE TO DO EVERYTHING WE CAN TO GET THE PROCESS
OF A CYPRUS SOLUTION GENUINELY, AND VISIBLY, UNDER WAY.
FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL'S FORTHCOMING VISIT TO WASHINGTON (IF IT IS
NOT ABORTED AS A RESULT OF THE RECENT SENATE ACTION) MAY OFFER
OUR LRFST TIMELY CHANCE TO GET ACROSS TO THE TURKS THAT
WORDS IN COMMUNIQUES AND PRIVATE ASSURANCES OF GOOD INTENTIONS
WILL NO LONGER DO. FOLLOW-UP ACTION IS ESSENTIAL, AND
REGARDLESS OF THEIR SUSPICIONS ABOUT GREEK MOTIVES, THEY MUST
GET TO THE TABLE AND GET AT LEAST THE BEGINNING STAGES OF A
SETTLEMENT PROCESS GENUINELY UNDERWAY.

10. SECONDLY, EVEN THOUGH CAGLAYANGIL MIGHT AGAIN MAKE THE RIGHT
NOISES INWASHINGTON, PAST EXPBCIENCE HAS SHOWN THAT THE
PROBLEM IS NOT SO MUCH IN GETTING ENCOURAGING STATEMENTS FROM BOTH
THE GREEKS AND TURKS AT THE FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL AS IT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05  ANKARA 00886  031324Z

HAS BEEN TO GET ANY TANGIBLE FOLLOW UP. FOR THIS REASON
I BELIEVE IT IS NOW THE TIME TO CONSIDER OFFERING A FULL-TIME
U.S. INTERMEDIARY TO SHUTTLE CONSTANTLY AMONG THE THREE
CAPITALS, SUPPLEMENTING (AND PERHAPS EVENTUALLY REPLACING)
THE WALDHEIM EFFORT. I HAVE IN MIND THE NAMING OF A
PROMINENT DEMOCRAT-WHICH I WOULD HOPE WOULD HAVE THE ADDED
ADVANTAGE OF BEING USEFUL IN PREVENTING DAMAGING CONGRESSIONAL
ACTIONS WHICH WOULD UNDERCUT HIM IN THE MIDST OF HIS MISSION.

11. FINALLY, WE MUST NOW SQUARELY CONFRONT THE POSSIBILITY
THAT DESPITE THE BEST AND MOST VIGOROUS EFFORTS OF THE U.S.
AND OTHERS, THE PRESENT HIGHLY UNSATISFACTORY DEFACTO SITUATION
IN CYPRUS MAY ENDURE FOR A PROLONGED AND INDEFINITE PERIOD.
ASSUMING (WHICH I AM NOT YET PREPARED TO DO) THAT THE U.S. WILL SOON
BE ABLE TO REACH A SATISFACTORY NEW BILATERAL SECURITY
AGREEMENT WITH THE TURKS, THIS MEANS THAT THE USG,
IN ALL ITS PARTS, WILL HAVE TO FACE UP SQARELY TO A KEY QUESTION;
NAMELY, WHETHER IT IS PREPARED TO SACRIFICE ITS VITAL ALLIANCE
WITH TURKEY AS A RESULT OF DISSATISFACTION WITH TURKISH
PERFORMANCE IN AN AREA WHICH LESS DIRECTLY CONCERNS OUR
NATIONAL INTERESTS.
MACOMBER

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

# Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994
**Channel Indicators:** n/a
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, EMBARGOES, US CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS
**Control Number:** n/a
**Copy:** SINGLE
**Draft Date:** 03 FEB 1976
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED
**Disposition Approved on Date:**
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004
**Disposition Event:**
**Disposition History:** n/a
**Disposition Reason:**
**Disposition Remarks:**
**Document Number:** 1976ANKARA00886
**Document Source:** CORE
**Document Unique ID:** 00
**Drafter:** n/a
**Enclosure:** n/a
**Executive Order:** GS
**Errors:** N/A
**Film Number:** D760040-0601
**From:** ANKARA
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Image Path:**
**ISecure:** 1
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760289/aaaadape.tel
**Line Count:** 223
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
**Office:** ACTION SS
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Page Count:** 5
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS
**Reference:** n/a
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR
**Review Comment:** n/a
**Review Content Flags:**
**Review Date:** 14 APR 2004
**Review Event:**
**Review Exemptions:** n/a
**Review History:** RELEASED <14 APR 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <15 APR 2004 by GolinoFR>
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**
**Review Referrals:** n/a
**Review Release Date:** n/a
**Review Release Event:** n/a
**Review Transfer Date:**
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a
**Secure:** OPEN
**Status:** NATIVE
**Subject:** THE FUTURE COURSE OF U.S. TURKISH RELATIONS
**TAGS:** MARR, PFOR, TU, GR, CY, US
**To:** STATE
**Type:** TE
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006